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2 February 1983

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## Talking Points on Israeli Politics

On the Israeli domestic scene, meanwhile, both the government and the opposition are awaiting the report of the commission investigating the Beirut massacres due to be released mid-month.

 Some within the Labor opposition hope the findings will be	
grave enough to cause defections from Begin's	25X1
coalitionespecially by the National Religious	20/(1
Partythat might permit the formation of a new Labor-led	
government.	

- -- More likely would be an attempt by Begin to maneuver his coalition partners into a cabinet resignation and new elections. He would clearly like to take advantage of his popularity in the polls to gain a new mandate, but needs the assent of other coalition leaders who fear their parties would lose in early elections.
- -- If the findings are not too damaging, Begin may ride them out. Some observers have speculated that Defense Minister Sharon may be ousted or moved to another post (possibly as foreign minister) if he comes in for heavy criticism. We think Begin will try to avoid this, but Sharon's influence could be diminished--at least temporarily.

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President Navon's decision not to seek a new term has introduced some political uncertainties.

-- Polls show he would be the most popular choice to lead the Labor Party in new elections. One recent poll indicates a Navon-led Labor Party and Begin's Likud would both win 50 seats in the 120-seat Knesset if elections were held now.

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		former Prime Minister Rabin has made it	
	clear he wants	the party leadership. Navon has said he	is
	not interested	in contesting for the position, although	he
	would probably	take it if offered.	

-- Navon is a veteran politician, but is largely untested in the rough-and-tumble of Israeli politics. Even sympathetic observers question whether he could hold his own in an election battle against Begin.

2 February 1983

Talking Points on Developments in Syria

The most important political and activities
The most important political and military development since
e has been the strengthened Soviet commitment to Syria,
resented by the deployment of the SA-5 surface-to-air
sile. The relationship has evolved through three stages in
past year.
Pre-Invasion: Syria woos the Soviets
In reaction to Israeli defacto annexation of the Golan
in December 1981, and fearing an Israeli invasion of
Lebanon, Syria tried to get a Soviet commitment to com-
to its aid in the form of a Startegic Alliance The
USSR demured.
Post Invasion: Recriminations
Syria accused the Soviets of selling them inadequate
weaponry, and of not coming to Syria's aid when
needed. The Soviets said the weapons were good, but
mishandled. Nevertheless they sent a team to
investigate.

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There are no indications that Syria has made any concessions to the Soviets in return for the SA-5 other than those implicit in the Soviet manning of the SA-5.

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- -- Syria has relinquished control over some of its air defense to the Soviets and apparently is not certain of a Soviet commitment to come to Syria's assistance should fighting be limited to Lebanon.
- -- Nevertheless, Syria probably believes it has a Soviet commitment to defend Syria proper, and probably counts on being able to persuade the Soviets to provide support in the event of an Israeli attempt to evict Syrian forces from Lebanon.

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Syria's relations with the PLO and other Arab states.

Syria's relations with the PLO, always strained, have deteriorated and Syria's control/influence over the PLO has diminished with the PLO evacuation of Beirut.

-- Syria, fearing a rapproachment between Jordan and PLO has tried to rein in Arafat, both politically through radical PLO factions, and by veiled threats to intimidate the PLO leader.

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Syria remains implacably hostile to Iraq and unwilling to end its	
support of Tehran in the Iran-Iraq war.	
Syria reportedly rejected a recent overture to improve	
relations with Iraq and reopen the oil pipeline through	
Syria to the Mediterranean.	25X1
Assad's attendance at the Fez Summit and apparent concurrence	
with the modified Fahd Plan indicated a softening of Syria's	
hardline opposition to peace negotiations.	
Syria's apparent softening was probably a tactical ploy	
adopted under the threat of an Israeli eviction of	
Syrian troops in Lebanon and in fear of standing alone	
in the Arab World.	
Recent discussions among the Libyan, Syrian, and	
Iranian Foreign Ministers in Damascus suggest that	
Syria may be trying to reconstitute a radical coalition	
to oppose, among other things, major Lebanese	
concessions to the Israelis.	25X1
Syria continues to profess its willingness to withdraw from	
Lebanon if-asked by the Lebanese government and if Israel also	
withdraw.	
Syria is in no hurry, however, and probably hopes that	
negotiations will drag on interminably. An Israeli	
withdrawal would be in Syria's interest and it is	
likely that Syrian forces will depart with the	
Israelis.	
Syrian political influence in Lebanon will be jealously	

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guarded by Damascus, however.

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2 February 1983

## Talking Points on Lebanon

After four months in office, Lebanese President Amin

Jumayyil has not been able to exert central government authority

beyond the capital.

- -- In reality, his influence does not extend beyond West
  Beirut--the East is still firmly in the hands of the
  Phalange-dominated Lebanese Forces militia--and Jumayyil
  is jokingly referred to as the president of the "Duchy of
  Hamra Street," West Beirut's fashionable shopping
  district.
- -- Jumayyil is unable to make progress on vital domestic issues--reconstruction, economic development, or political reform--until progress is made in the current diplomatic efforts to win the withdrawal of Syrian, PLO, and Israeli forces from Lebanon.

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The current stalemate in negotiations with Israel places

Jumayyil in a no win situation.

- -- He is under increasing pressure from the Lebanese Forces militia to give in to Israeli demands for what amounts to a peace treaty.
- -- While Jumayyil might be willing to go along way toward satisfying Israeli demands "informally" after an Israeli troop withdrawal, he knows that Lebanon's fragile political consensus will not permit him to enter into an ironclad agreement head on.

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Muslim and leftist groups initially willing to cooperate with Amin are increasingly disillusioned with his leadership.

- -- They are disturbed by his failure to bring the Lebanese

  Forces militia under control or to honor his commitment to

  deploy the Lebanese Army in the eastern portion of Beirut.
- -- Most believe he has not been effective in resisting

  Israeli pressure and that Lebanon is giving too much away
  in the current negotiations.
- -- There are indications that some of these groups and some non-Phalange Maronites may begin working against Jumayyil.

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Jumayyil fears that an agreement on normalization before an Israeli withdrawal will reduce much of Lebanon to an Israeli protectorate.

- -- If this happened, Syria and the Palestinians would refuse to withdraw their forces.
- -- The result would probably be the de facto partition of Lebanon.

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Resisting Israeli demands in the negotiations, on the other hand, also discourages Israeli withdrawal which is the <u>sine qua</u> non for Syrian and Palestinian departure.

-- It also increases Lebanese Forces impatience with Amin and could prompt them to overthrow his regime or compromise him so badly that he would be forced to resign.

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Jumayyil's situation is further aggravated by continuing close contacts between Israeli Defense Minister Sharon and Lebanese Forces leaders.

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- -- Many in the Lebanese Forces are backing Sharon's tough stance on the negotiations because they believe that only Israeli force will dislodge the Syrians.
- -- Sharon has warned them that if Israel does not get its way, there will be no further Israeli assisstance to the Lebanese Forces.

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The security situation is deteriorating once again with renewed violence in the mountain suburbs around Beirut.

- -- Over the weekend Syrian-backed Druze PSP forces bombarded

  Christian East Beirut, the first major attack since the

  civil war.
- the Phalange may be preparing for a major offensive against the Druze. Such a move could be the final blow to tentative moves toward national reconciliation and lead to renewed widespread factional fighting.
- -- The situation in the northern city of Tripoli remains calm but tense and there is a general belief that both the pro and anti Syrian combatants are using the present lull to rearm for another round of fighting.

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Despite the appointment of a new Army Commander, there has been little progress toward the rebuilding of the Lebanese Army.

- -- Recruitment efforts are not going well.
- -- Efforts toward training and reequiping the Army have gotten off to a slow start.
- -- The Army is still too weak for Amin to risk deployment beyond West Beirut into areas around the capital where

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